

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 AF-06 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CU-02 STR-01

AGR-05 CIEP-01 COME-00 EB-07 /108 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1073

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 253

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORVA

CINCLANT

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 1405

E.O. 11653 GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR PARM EGEN SGEN XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-FEBRUARY 24-28

1. SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS TIGHTENED UP THEIR POSITIONS ON A
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS THIS WEEK, IN AN APPARENT ATTEMPT TO
BUILD UP A STRONGER BARGAINING POSITION.

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IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE THEY PROPOSED A
LONG LIST OF CHANGES TO TEXTS WHICH HAVE BEEN PROVISIONALLY
REGISTERED AND VIRTUALLY COMPLETE FOR MONTHS. WHILE
THEY CONTINUED TO PUSH FOR ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THEM, SUCH

AS COMPLETION OF THE PREAMBLE OF THE FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTION, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP ON STAGE III, THE NET RESULT WAS A SLOW WEEK, WITH VERY LITTLE CONCRETE PROGRESS, AS WESTERN DELEGATIONS RESPONDED FIRMLY TO SOVIET TACTICS. ONE SENTENCE OF COOPERATION PRINCIPLE, A FURTHER PARAGRAPH ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, AND A PARAGRAPH ON EXCHANGES OF CULTURAL SPECIALISTS WERE INFORMALLY AGREED, AND THE FOLLOW-UP PREAMBLE WAS DECLARED COMPLETE. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--FINAL SUMMARY SENTENCE OF COOPERATION PRINCIPLE WAS TENTATIVELY ACCEPTED, LEAVING TWO MAJOR PARTS OF THE PRINCIPLE UNRESOLVED: LANGUAGE CONCERNING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND NARROWING DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT, WHICH IS STILL BEING HELD IN ABEYANCE AWAITING RESOLUTION OF SAME ISSUES IN BASKET II; AND LANGUAGE ON LEVELS OF COOPERATION, WHICH REMAINS MOST CONTROVERSIAL AND WITHIN WHICH DEADLOCK PERSISTS OVER ANY MENTION OF INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS. A THIRD PART OF COOPERATION PRINCIPLE ON AIMS AND PURPOSES IS CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION AND NEAR AGREEMENT.

3. MILITARY SECURITY SECURITY--SUBCOMMITTEE HAS NOW HELD NINE CONSECUTIVE SESSIONS ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CSCE AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN EUROPE, BUT LAST SESSION IN WEEK PROVED UNUSUALLY SOUR AS SOVIETS CONTINUED UNYIELDING STANCE ON EXISTING ISSUES AND IN ADDITION INTRODUCED NEW PROPOSED REVISIONS FOR UK DRAFT TEXT OF DECEMBER 18. EARLIER HOPES FOR REGISTRATION OF AT LEAST PART OF UK TEXT HAVE LARGELY FADED, AND ALTHOUGH COMMITTEE WILL MAKE A LAST EFFORT TO REMOVE BRACKETS NEXT WEEK, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT MEMBERS WILL DECIDE TO TURN BACK TO DISCUSSION OF OTHER CMB ISSUES. IN NATO CAUCUS CANADIAN DELEGATION INTRODUCED IDEA OF DIFFERENTIATED OBLIGATIONS FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, DEPENDING ON THE SIZE OF THE MANEUVERS. THE INITIAL ALLIED REACTION WAS TO WELCOME THE CANADIAN IDEA AS A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION, AND EXPERTS' CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSIDERATION OF IT BEGAN IMMEDIATELY. CANADIANS PLAN TO TABLE THEIR PROPOSAL FOR INFORMATION IN NATO POLADS ON MARCH 4, AND HOPE TO BE ABLE TO CIRCULATE IT TO FULL CSCE BEFORE EASTER BREAK.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED TO DISCUSS PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE, BUT WITHOUT MAKING PROGRESS. THIS GROUP IS IN EFFECT MARKING TIME UNTIL MFN, RECIPROCITY AND SAFEGUARDS ARE RIPE FOR FORMAL DISCUSSION. MEANWHILE, SOVIET DELEGATION INDICATED PRIVATELY THAT IT WISHED TO SEPARATE THE MFN AND RECIPROCITY ISSUES BY DEALING WITH THE FIRST IN THE TRADE TEXTS AND THE SECOND IN THE GENERAL PREAMBLE TO BASKET II.

SOVIETS ALSO INDICATED THAT A NUMBER OF WESTERN DELS HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THIS APPROACH. USDEL TOLD SOVIETS WE WANTED THE TWO MATTERS CLOSELY LINKED, AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES INDICATED IN SUBSEQUENT NATO CAUCUS THAT THEY TOO ARE NOT PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH SOVIET IDEA. IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE SOVIETS PROPOSED A LONG LIST OF CHANGES TO TEXT WHICH HAS BEEN PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED AND VIRTUALLY COMPLETE FOR MANY MONTHS, AND WHICH WAS BASED ON A WESTERN DRAFT CO-SPONSORED BY USDEL. SOVIET CHANGES WOULD EFFECTIVELY NULLIFY MANY POINTS WHICH WEST CONSIDERS IMPORTANT, ESPECIALLY SUCH ITEMS AS "DIRECT CONTACTS" BETWEEN SCIENTISTS, WHICH ALSO RELATE TO ISSUES IN BASKET III, WHERE EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE IS CURRENTLY DEBATING QUESTION OF DIRECT CONTACTS. SOVIETS ALSO PROPOSED MORE MEETINGS OF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE, WHICH WEST ADMANTLY OPPOSED BECAUSE IT WOULD APPEAR ACQUIESCE IN IDEA THAT MAJOR REVISIONS MAY BE PROPOSED IN A PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED TEXT. SUBCOMMITTEE ON ON OTHER AREAS WAS HELD UP BY SOVIET RESISTANCE TO A PREAMBULAR REFERENCE TO INTERNAL SOCIAL AND ECNOMIC "BALANCE", WHICH IS DESIRED BY SWISS.

5. HUMANTATIAN COOPERATION--HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITEE

STOOD STILL AS THE SOVIETS IN BILATERAL CONTACTS SOUGHT WAYS TO CUT DOWN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR RESOLVING THE IMPASSE ON THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT. AT THE END OF THE WEEK THE SOVIETS HAD STILL NOT MADE A COUNTER-PROPOSAL. ON THE OTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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KEY REMAINING TOPIC, TRAVEL, THE SOVIETS STALLED PROGRESS BY DECISIVELY REJECTING A NEUTRAL COMPROMISE DRAFT. THE PRELIMINARY INFORMAL TALKS ON YOUTH AND TOURISM REVEALED UNEXPECTEDLY WIDE CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE, CONCENTRATING ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, INFORMALLY AGREED ON A THIRD PARAGRAPH, WITH RESERVATIONS, AND SEEMED ON THE VERGE OF AGREEING ON THE NEXT PARAGRAPH. NEVERTHELESS, SOME VERY DIFFICULT ITEMS REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS ISSUE. OTHER TOPICS WERE DORMANT. LIMITED PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION, AS BOTH GROUPS CONCENTRATED ON LESS CONTROVERSIAL PROPOSALS IN FACE OF CONTINUED SOVIET INFLEXIBILITY ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO WEST. CULTURE SUBCOMMITTEE AT WEEK'S END "MENTALLY" REGISTERED TEXT ON EXCHANGES OF SPECIALISTS IN VARIOUS CULTURAL FIELDS. IN INFORMAL SESSIONS, EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE MOVED CLOSER TO AGREEMENT ON ROMANIAN PROPOSAL DEALING WITH ADULT AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION. MEANWHILE, IN FACE OF VIGOROUS WESTERN AND NEUTRAL OPPOSITION, SOVIETS SHELVED THEIR UNREALISTIC PROPOSAL DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE CONTENTS OF TEXTBOOKS, AND UK DEL BEGAN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVDEL IN EFFORT TO

REACH ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THIS CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE.

6. MEDITERRANEAN-- WORKING GROUP BEGAN DRAFTING OF A PARAGRAPH ON THE MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION RELATING TO MILITARY SECURITY. YUGOSLAVS AND MALTESE STUCJ TO THEIR VIEW THAT CBMS WORKED OUT IN CSCE SHOULD BE APPLIED ALSO TO NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES. SINCE THIS IDEA IS CLEARLY A NON-STARTER, NO PROGRESS WAS MADE.

7. FOLLOW-UP-- AT FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION OF WORKING GROUP, IN FACE OF STRONG WESTERN OPPOSITION, SOVIETS UNEXPECTEDLY DROPPED THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH REFERRING TO CSCE PRINCIPLES. WARSAW PACT DEL IN RETURN INSISTED THAT CHAIRMAN SHOULD CONCLUDE MEETING WITH STATEMENT THAT PREAMBLE TO RESOLUTION ON FOLLOW-UP HAS BEEN COMPLETED. DRAFTING ON OPERATIVE PART OF FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTION WILL BEGIN NEXT WEEK.

8. COMMENT: THE SOVIET COMBINATION OF PRESSURE TO MOVE
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FORWARD ON SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO THEM, AND INFLEXIBLE RESISTANCE TO PROGRESS ON ISSUES THEY CONSIDER SENSITIVE WAS ACCENTUATED STILL FURTHER THIS WEEK, AND APPEARED TO BE DESIGNED TO SERVE SEVERAL COMPLEMENTARY AIMS: FIRST, TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF PROGRESS SO AS TO BUILD PRESSURES FOR MOVING RAPIDLY TOWARD STAGE III; SECOND, TO CONVINCE WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS THAT THEY SHOULD PARE DOWN THEIR MORE AMBITIOUS PROPOSALS; AND THIRD, TO CONSTRUCT A SERIES OF ISSUES WHICH THE SOVIETS CAN USE AS TRADE-OFFS IN BARGAINING IN THE WEEKS TO COME. TO ACHIEVE THESE TACTICAL AIMS THE SOVIETS, AS USUAL, HAVE BEEN USING EVERY TRICK IN THE BOOK, AND THEIR ATTEMPT TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON POINTS OF INTEREST TO THE WEST IN THE LONG-AGREED PAPER ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WAS THE LATEST, AND MOST BLATANT, WE HAVE SEEN. THIS SUBCOMMITTEE'S WORK HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY COMPLETE SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER, AND IT HAS BEEN PREVENTED FROM FINALIZING ITS PAPER ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BECAUSE OF AN OVERALL ROMANIAN RESERVE RELATED TO THEIR DESIRE TO OBTAIN LANGUAGE ON EUROPEAN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE BASKET BASKET 88II PREAMBLE A SOVIET RENEGE AT THIS POINT WOULD ESTABLISH A PRECEDENT FOR RE-OPENING OF ALL PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED TEXTS, WHICH COULD UNRAVEL THE COMPLEX FABRIC OF AGREEMENTS CSCE HAS REACHED THUS FAR.

9. IN RESPONSE TO THESE SIVET TACTICS, WESTERN DELGATIONS HAVE REACTED PRUDENTLY. THEY ARE KEENLY INTERESTED THEMSELVES IN MOVING TOWARD A CONSLUSION TO THE CONFERENCE, AND ARE PREPARED TO BE REASONABLY FLEXIBLE TO ACHIEVE THIS. BUT THEY ARE UNWILLING TO GIVE UP THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF THEIR PROPOSALS, AND DO NOT WANT TO BE PLACED IN THE POSI-

TION OF APPEARING TO SEEK THE EARLY CONCLUSION WHICH IS
CLEARLY ON OF THE FEW REMAINING ISSUES WHICH IT MAY BE
POSSIBLE TO USE FOR LEVERAGE AGAINST THE SOVIETS. THUS
THERE WAS AN ADAMANT REFUSAL TO ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO SCHEDULE
MORE MEETINGS ON THE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE
WHICH COULD ONLY BE USED TO DISCUSS SOVIET CHANGES IN
PREVIOUSLY AGREED TEXTS, AND THERE WAS SOME RELUCTANCE
TO AGREE IMMEDIATELY TO THE SWEDISH IDEA FOR ESTABLISHMENT
OF A WORKING GROUP ON STAGE III. THERE WILL HAVE TO BE
FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THIS IDEA IN THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE
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BEFORE SUCH A GROUP IS SET UP, A STEP WHICH MAY BE TAKEN
JUST PRIOR TO EASTER BREAK. NEVERTHELESS, THE
WESTERN GROUP IS THINKING AHEAD IN REALISTIC TERMS.
MANY EC-9 AND NATO DELEGATES PRIVATELY AGREED WITH THE
SOVIETS THAT A LONG WEEKEND WOULD SUFFICE FOR AN EASTER
RECESS, AND EC-9 AND NATO CAUCUSES ON CBMS, BASKET III
AND FOLLOW-UP CONTINUED TO DISCUSS FALLBACK POSITIONS IN
SOME FORM. END COMMENT. DALE

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